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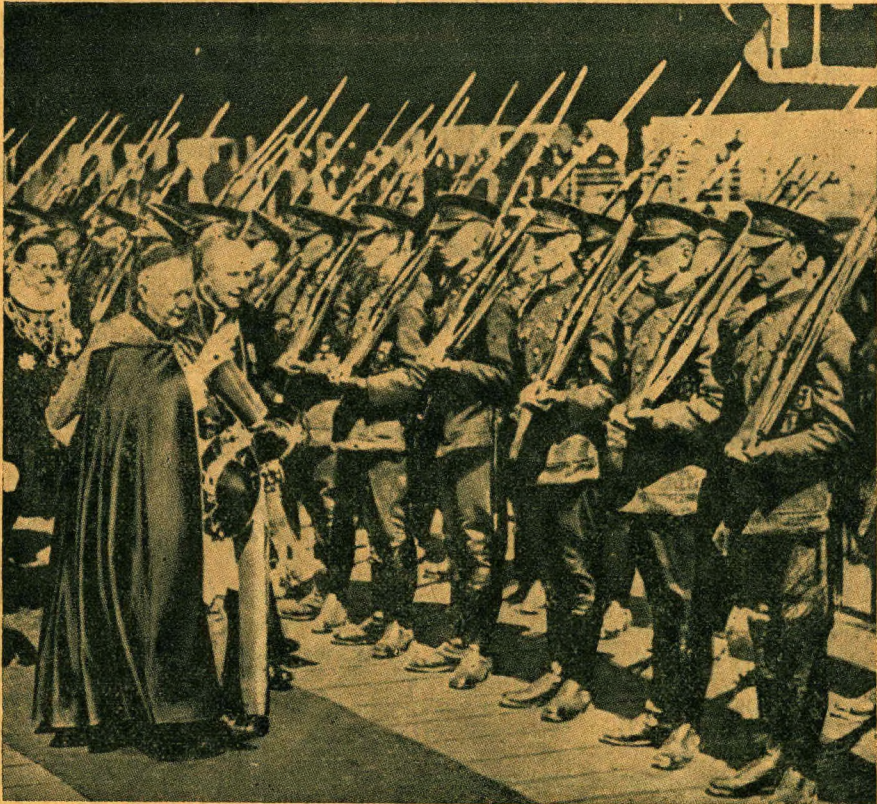
Workers of the World, Unite!

THE NEGRO WORKER

No. 8

August 15, 1932

Vol. 2



How The Church Supports War. — Priest Blessing Troups

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST WAR MONGERS

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***Editors are invited to reprint articles and resolutions
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OF NEGRO WORKERS, 8 ROTHESOODSTR., HAMBURG, GERMANY**

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The World Today / By George Padmore.

Unemployment and War are the two most vital issues before the working class today. Both are inevitable parts of the capitalist system. In every country of the world, with the exception of the **Soviet Union**, a handful of men own and control everything. These people are the capitalists. The great majority of the people are compelled to toil for them in order to eat. These are the workers. Today, the entire capitalist system is in the greatest crisis which it has ever known. The capitalists are no longer able to provide the workers with jobs. Over 40 millions people have been thrown on the streets to starve in every country in Europe and America. If we add to this number of the unemployed, those in China, in India, in Africa, the West Indies and other colonies and semi-colonies, the total will come up to hundreds of millions. This is the "blessing" of capitalism which these parasites, aided by their lackeys, preach to the masses as a system which the toiling masses of humanity have no right to revolt against.

* * *

The workers, however, do not intend to sit down and starve to death. Everywhere they are beginning to organize and to demonstrate on the streets under the slogan, "**We want bread, we want work**"; "**Down with the capitalist governments of starvation and war!**" — The Negro workers in America, in Africa and other colonies are also taking an active part in these demonstrations, for they are the greatest sufferers from starvation and hunger.

The capitalists, realizing their difficulties — are feverishly preparing to plunge the world into another bloody war. They hope that by starting a war, not only among themselves, but especially against Soviet Russia, the only country ruled by workers, they will be able to kill two birds with one stone. First, they hope that the workers will forget unemployment, starvation and hunger, and thereby ward off the overthrow of the capitalist system; and second, these parasites who prey upon the living and the dead, will be able to continue to run their factories by turning them into ammunition plants for the production of war materials.

Already they are beginning, with the aid of the capitalist newspapers, the cinema and the Churches to preach to the workers that the war means work. That if the workers want to get jobs they must support the plans of the war mongers. Unfortunately many workers believe this lie. But let us not forget the lessons of 1914-18. Let us not forget the millions of workers and peasants of all races and nationalities who died in order to help the capitalists to rob one another and enslave the colonial peoples. War means destruction, waste, wholesale murders. War does not bring relief to the workers. War is only of benefit to the bankers, the capitalists, the armament manufacturers.

This war has already started. The Japanese imperialists, supported by the other war mongers, especially England and France, without even the formal declaration of war,—which the imperialists no longer waste time to indulge in—bombed Shanghai and destroyed the whole of the Chinese section of the city, known as Chapei. During this bombardment which lasted only a short time, it has been estimated that **over 8,000 were killed, 2,000 wounded, 10,400 missing, while over 250,000 workers have been thrown out of jobs**, because all of the factories valued at more than 15 million dollars were completely destroyed by the Japanese artillery and airplanes. All this happened just in a few days.—Such are the “blessings” of imperialist war.

Not satisfied with this, the Japanese imperialists have invaded Manchuria, stolen it away from the Chinese, enslaved the workers and peasants by means of machine guns, and are now turning Manchuria into a battle field which they are preparing to use as the “jumping off” ground to attack the Soviet Union. **War is like the plague. Once it has begun,—it spreads.** And before long, we Negro workers will soon find ourselves involved in another world slaughter, as in 1914-18, unless we join with the other workers to put a stop to it at once, through organized demonstrations and protest.

* * *

Many workers think that the Japanese are the only ones to be blamed. This is not so. The Japanese imperialists and militarists would never have ventured to make war against China or carry out their warlike provocative threats against the Soviet Union unless they knew before hand that they had the support of the other imperialist States, especially England and France. The French imperialists, who are the most bloodthirsty war mongers in Europe have loaned Japan hundreds of millions of francs, with the express agreement that the Japanese imperialists spend it back in buying war supplies from French armament manufacturers. The British and American capitalists, jealous of the big war supply trade which France is doing with the Japanese militarists, have also agreed to loan Japan money, so that they in turn could buy ammunition from them.

For example, it was officially admitted in the House of Commons, a few weeks ago, that during the months of February, March and April, British armament firms, with the consent of the National Government, of which that arch-hypocrite MacDonald, who poses as the “Angel of Peace” is Prime Minister, supplied the Japanese imperialists on the one hand with the following ammunition: **240 field guns and machine guns and 6,000,000 machine gun cartridges.** And during the same period, the very same armament firm supplied China with **25 machine guns, 505,000 machine gun cartridges, 500,000 rifle cartridges.** The U. S. A., although the greatest rival of Japan is also shipping war supplies to Tokio.

While this traffic in death dealing devices is being carried on between the East and West,—the representatives of the various capitalist nations were assembled at Geneva, making speeches about disarmament. This only serves to show what liars and hypocrites these imperialists are. While they pay lip service to peace in order to try and mislead the masses, they are at the same time adding to their bank accounts by promoting and encouraging war.

* * *

This war in the East is merely the beginning of another world war. Since the world is already divided up among the various imperialist States, they are all feverishly striving to find new outlets. They want to turn the Soviet Union into a colony which they could loot and rape as they are doing in Africa, China and

elsewhere. In order to carry out this scheme, the imperialist powers, headed by Japan, have started the ball a-rolling. Their scheme is to first of all divide up China and share it up among themselves in just the same way as they divided up Africa during the latter part of the last century. At the time Japan had not yet emerged as a great imperialist power. It was only after the Russian-Japanese war in 1905 that she was admitted into the council of the foremost robber states of the world, and by that time Africa was already divided up among the other imperialist nations. That is one of the reasons why she is so anxious to grab up as much of China as possible, so that by the time the squabble between the other imperialist land grabbers starts with machine guns and battle ships she will have already got away with her share. On the plan of dividing up China,—Japan, France and England, are already in common agreement. Japan will take over Manchuria in the North of China, England the Yang-Tse valley territories, and France the Southern provinces, next to her colony, Indo-China. But America, although out to rob China, is not in favour of the dividing up scheme for fear that her rivals may get the lion's share. She rather wants what is known as the "Open Door" policy, which will give her greater economic advantages over her rivals, especially Japan. This is where the first contradiction shows itself. This contradiction is most sharply expressed between Japan and America, for they are the greatest rivals in the Pacific. They are like two thieves who cannot agree upon how to share up the booty. Each is jealous of the other. Each is afraid that the other will get too much. Yet still, each wants to devour China in its own way.

* * *

Now, with regard to the Soviet Union. All of these capitalist bandits are for war upon the Soviet Union. Why is there this common agreement? First of all, the Soviet Union is no capitalist country. It covers one sixth of the earth's surface and is under a workers' government. In Soviet Russia, there is no unemployment, while in America, the richest capitalist country, there are more than 12 million black and white workers starving. The capitalist countries represent a decaying society. In the Soviet Union, the toiling masses are building up a new society,—**Socialism**. The capitalist world is like a dying old man. The Soviet Union is like a healthy, verile young man. And here we have the greatest contradiction in a nut-shell. It is a question of Age against Youth,—a conflict of social systems, Socialism versus Capitalism.

And it is just because the capitalists and their agents realize that they and their society are doomed, there is the common agreement among them to make war upon the Soviet Union, and destroy it, if possible. For, the more the Soviet Union develops on the basis of its Five Year Plan, the more it inspires the millions of starving workers throughout the world to follow the example of the Russian toiling masses. That is to get rid of their exploiters and set up their own government. For this is the only way to abolish unemployment and war. In other words: What the Russian workers have done, we can also do.

* * *

This is the reason for the feverish preparation for war among the capitalist nations and their increasing hostility towards the Soviet Union. This is why Europe is spending a sum of 500 million pounds a year on maintaining huge armies, while millions of workers walk the streets,—starving. This is why England, France, America and the other powers, although they are quarreling among themselves as to who will get the biggest part of China, are like "loving brothers" when it comes to the question of war upon Russia. This is why all of these powers are supplying the Japanese imperialists with ammunition and encouraging Japan to

start a war against Russia, with the promise that they will join in and help in destroying the fatherland of the working class, and set the whole world once more aflame.

* * *

Negro workers! This war concerns you! You will be mobilized again as cannon fodder. The millionaires, the bankers, the shipowners, the armament manufacturers, the landlords and the tax collectors—they and their sons don't go to war. It is the workers, the peasants, and the toiling youth who are called upon to dress up in uniforms and go and shoot each other down, while the exploiters and the oppressors remain at home and fill their coffers by profiteering.

Negro workers! Let us not forget how we were fooled in 1914-18. The imperialists and their black agents,—Dubois for the American imperialists, Blaze Diagne for the French, and Marcus Garvey for the British. They told us to go and fight. That after the war we would get "democracy". That Africa would be free. That the Negro peoples of the world will have the right to live as free human beings. Millions of black men, misled by these fakers, died on the battlefields of France, in Egypt, East and West Africa in this imperialist slaughter. And what is the result? Today we are worse off than we were before 1914. In America, Negro men and women are still lynched with impunity. Nine boys are in Scottsboro prison framed up by the same imperialists for whom we fought, faced with death on the electric chair. This is American "democracy"! In Africa, the Negro masses are subjected to the worst forms of exploitation, forced labour and taxation. This is how the British and the French imperialists proclaim their "democracy"! Although the Negroes fought and died, Tanganyika, Cameroon, Togoland and South Africa were all taken away from Germany and divided up among the imperialists of England, France and Belgium. These colonies were not given back to the natives who fought and died in the campaigns against the Germans in Africa. The Africans were not even consulted as to their wishes. This is how the League of Nations carries out the "right for self-determination"! Added to which, millions of Negroes—ex-service men and their families are starving today.

* * *

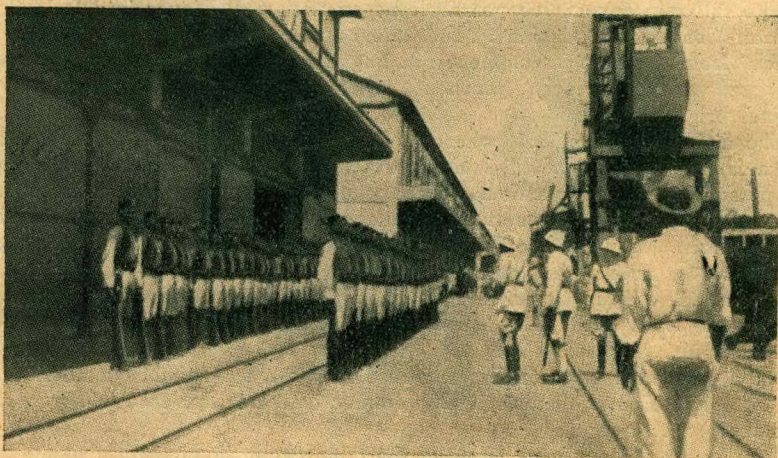
Negro comrades, black brothers! Let us learn from our experiences of 1914-18. Remember the saying: "Once bitten,—twice shy." The imperialists mean us no good. They are our greatest enemies. When they cannot come forward to present their lying promises to us they employ black agents who try to mislead us. They too are our enemies, whom we must expose and denounce as traitors. We have a great duty to fulfill. We must organize today and join forces with the white workers of Europe and America, the yellow workers of China and Japan, the brown workers of India and other lands and tell to these imperialist murderers, these capitalist bandits and cut-throats, these human scavengers who thrive upon the dead and the living, these scourges of humanity,—that we will build an iron ring around the Soviet Union, that we will refuse to fire one shot against our heroic comrades of the Soviet Union who are showing us the path to freedom and emancipation. We must let the imperialists know that if they dare to invade the land of Socialist construction, our arms will be used against them. We will never be used to further their predatory interest. We will strike a blow for the freedom of Africa and the liberation of the toiling masses throughout the world, for we all realize that the successful building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union is the greatest inspiration to the Negro toiling masses in their struggle for national freedom and social emancipation from the yoke of imperialism and capitalist exploitation.

Under The Yoke of Imperialism

Ireland Fights for Freedom / By T. A. Jackson.

We reprint the following article by comrade T. A. Jackson, published in the "Daily Worker" for the benefit of our readers, especially those in the colonies.

This article brilliantly confirms what we have always pointed out to the Negro masses, namely, that British imperialism, whether in India, Africa, the West Indies, Ireland or other colonial and semi-colonial lands, carries out the same ruthless policy of expropriating the peasantry from their lands, in order to turn them into wage slaves, and to extort taxes out of them for the English capitalist class, and their native lackeys. Furthermore, the history of Ireland clearly shows to the Negro masses, especially those who are still under the influence of the reformist misleader, Marcus Garvey, that imperialism is not a question of colour, but of



British West African army. Cannon fodder for coming world war

class. For here we see, Ireland, a "white" nation under the yoke of another "white" nation. The "white" British capitalists and landlords don't give a damn more for the "white" Irish workers and peasants than for the Negro toiling masses. With them, it is a question of **class against class**. The conquerors exploiting the conquered. Therefore, the history of Ireland, like that of Africa drips with the blood of millions of brutally oppressed and exploited workers and peasants, for the purpose of maintaining a handful of alien imperialists, marauders and plunderers. It is the duty of every Negro worker groaning under the Union Jack to join hands with the toiling masses of Ireland in the common struggle against their common enemy—British imperialism. —Ed.

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IRELAND? WE!

Not the prating, pretending, political poltroons, who run round the world in a panic from conference to conference—trying to save their evil, senile faces.

Not the British Government, nor King George, nor Lloyd George, nor George Lansbury.

All these will do after their kind—greedily, stupidly, savagely and brutally. For them Ireland is a milch cow—to be pitted and praised so long as it yields an abundant stream of milk; and to be tethered, imprisoned and abused for brute beast so soon as the milk yield fails.

What they will do we know—they will crush Ireland if they cannot corrupt its politicians and trick it into a swindle bargain.

But what are WE going to do?

We, the workers of Britain, have no interest in the plunder of Ireland and still less in the enslavement of its people.

What is it to us if the Irish Free State refuses to hand over a tribute of blood-money to the descendants of the exterminating, rackrenting, evicting landlords, who bled Ireland white for centuries?

Think!

How did this landlord class—bought out by these land annuities that de Valera (acting under a clear mandate from his people) is withholding—how did they get to be landlords in Ireland?

The full tale covers 700 years. It began with a slop-over into Ireland of the Norman Conquest of England. The thieves who "pinched" England went on to "pinch" Ireland. Then, as happened in England, later generations of thieves arose who, by various devices, "pinched" it in turn from the descendants of the original brigands.

The difference was that, whereas in England this thieving from the thieves was a family concern, which went on over the heads of our kind—changing only the personality of the particular thief who plundered us—in Ireland each shift of "property" came as a result of an invasion from England and an exterminating war in which the Irish people were regarded and treated as savages and barbarians, fit for nothing but extermination.

The British Empire began in Ireland. It began when modern capitalism began with Henry VIII. and this "Protestant" plundering of the church and the common lands.

Six times our forbears in England rose in revolt against this plundering of the land from under their feet. Is it any wonder that the Irish rose in revolt, too, at the same process?

They "cleared" whole stretches of the countryside in England, driving men off the land to make room for sheep.

In Ireland first and last they have tried to "clear" the whole country and literally exterminate the whole population.

The whole country!—except a strip of the West Coast, in Connaught, when a writer of the time said: "There was no tree big enough to hang a man, no water in which to drown him and not earth enough to bury him when dead!"

It was this Connaught that was offered to the Irish as the only alternative to "Hell!"

It began in the days of Queen Mary, the Catholic (whom Protestants call "Bloody" Mary).

Mary cleared and "planted" with English settlers a big part of Leinster, her sister Elizabeth cleared and planted a big part of Munster; their successor, James Stuart, cleared and planted most of Ulster.

In every case the Irish revolted again and again, and every revolt was bloodily suppressed and followed by a deliberately created famine!

The Irish fighting for their lands let themselves be drawn into the English Civil War on the side of the King. Cromwell, after he had beaten the King and cut off his head, defeated and crushed the Irish and confiscated the land once again.

When the French Revolution came, the peasants of the South—rack-rented, plundered and persecuted—joined with the Republican craftsmen, artisans, merchants and farmers of the North—who also had been robbed, persecuted and insulted—to form the United Irishmen and strive for an Irish Republic.

Once again, in 1798, the Irish were bloodily suppressed with savage barbarities—and this time the "Irish" landlord class (really the English "garrison" in Ireland) led the way in the ferocity and unnameable barbarity of suppression.



How Britain Rules India. White and native armed police in Bombay

The Irish rose in insurrection again in 1818—driven desperate by the "famine". During those famine years of 1846-8, some 2,000,000 Irish men and women died of famine or famine fever.

Yet during those years, Ireland exported in corn and cattle enough to have fed the whole population twice over.

The corn and cattle went to pay the rent to the landlords in England—the people who had produced both, died of hunger, because their "share", the potatoes, rotted with the blight.

The Irish revolted in 1848—and so did the English Chartists attempt to revolt in that same year.

The Irish Republicans attempted a revolt in 1865 and 1867. In 1866 the London workers tore up the railings of Hyde Park in the course of their demand for reform.

All through the years from 1880 to 1893 the Irish in the Land League and similar bodies fought against eviction from their homes by these exterminating landlords backed by British imperialist bullets and bayonets.

And all through these years the English and Scottish workers, in strike after strike, in riot after riot (like Bloody Sunday in Trafalgar Square in 1886 and the unemployed riot in the West End in 1885) fought against the allies of that same exterminating gang.

The Irish rose again in Easter Week, 1916, led by James Conolly, who previously had helped to lead the struggles of the British workers for trade union recognition and for Socialism.

The Irish fought for the Irish Republic, which Conolly proclaimed all through the Black-and-Tan war of 1919-22; and all that time we, too, were fighting, though less bloodily, for wages, for maintenance for the unemployed, and against the intervention in Russia to suppress the Workers' Republic.

At every stage in history the robbers of the Irish have been the robbers of the common people in England too; every struggle of the Irish has moved parallel with one of our struggles likewise.

What should we do, now, but maintain the fight of centuries, and stand solidly with the Irish against the common enemy and destroyer of us all?

I say "Ireland" and the Irish.

I am not concerned with the "Irish Free State"—except so far as I am forced to be.

The partitioning of Ireland between "Northern Ireland" and the "Free State" is in itself a conqueror's trick—an intentional injury—an attempt to starve the Irish of the South by cutting them off from the factories of the North. When the evil was done—and the Irish only consented to it because their ammunition was exhausted and they were not sure of our backing and so consented under compulsion—these factories were in full and profitable working. Now they stand idle, and it is "Northern Ireland" that suffers from being cut off from the foodstuffs of the South.

And it is now, and in these circumstances, that your rulers, the agents, nominees and spokesmen of the greedy, plundering gang that has robbed Ireland with the one hand, while they have robbed us with the other—it is now that this gang start a tariff war to coerce the Irish, by making it impossible for them to sell their foodstuffs in either England, Scotland or Northern Ireland.

The Irish must go hungry, and we must go hungry too—to gratify the greed of the blood-saturated, crime-stained, profit-glutted gang that, having plundered all of us for seven centuries, want to go on plundering us all for seven centuries more!

And they add insult to injury by expecting us to give them our sons for one more murder-raid into Ireland!

We will not stand for it.

In 1900, at an International Socialist Conference in Paris. James Connolly (my own teacher and comrade) stood up and claimed that Ireland was a Nation, and should have voting rights as such. Our British delegation endorsed that claim, and it was conceded.

An end to the partition of Ireland. An end to the malicious imperialist separation of the exploited workers of the North from the plundered and insulted farmers and landworkers of the South.

A free Ireland, and a United Irish Republic!

And an undying of British and Irish workers in the fight for an end to all imperialism, and a world union of Soviet Republics.

Free Speech and Press for West Indian Masses

By Charles Alexander (Trinidad).

A central issue around which the Negro masses of the West Indies must develop a persistent struggle is that for the right of **free speech and press**. This boasted "right" around which the British imperialists have built a halo for themselves, and which they like to proclaim to the world as an historic possession for all Englishmen and English subjects, is not only unknown in the West Indies, but any attempt on the part of the masses to exercise such rights is met with the most brutal suppression. The agents of the imperialists, the colonial governors, see to it that not only all attempts of the masses to struggle for bread, for the right to live are ruthlessly crushed, but also the spoken or written words of these masses or their spokesmen are stifled.

Recent events, particularly in the islands of Trinidad and Jamaica, show the trend of this suppression policy of this most basic right of the workers and peasants, and in view of the situation prevalent in all the islands, and the necessary struggles which will develop on the part of the natives in the near future against their unbearable conditions, the denial of this right and the violence utilized by the imperialists to prevent the masses exercise of same will play an ever increasing role.

The latest evidence of denial of free speech and press to the native masses is the banning by the Trinidad Government of the "**Negro Worker**", official organ of the **International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers**. It is not necessary to go into the conditions of life of the masses of Trinidad at this time, inasmuch as we have already pointed them out in previous articles in this journal. It will suffice to say that the "**Negro Worker**" by its exposure of these conditions, and the role of the Negro Reformists, brought sharply to the attention of the Trinidadian masses a correct picture of the misery and squalor surrounding their lives, and the path they must pursue not only to alleviate these unbearable conditions, but to put a final end to their exploitation and oppression by the imperialist parasites. The Trinidad government realized the great interest which was being manifested in the "**Negro Worker**" by the masses, and that a certain section of these masses (long-shoremen) was beginning to follow the suggestions and teachings of the "**Negro Worker**". Hence the ban. Hence the attempt to suppress this militant voice of the workers and peasants.

Shortly before the Trinidad government took its action against the "**Negro Worker**" the Government of Jamaica sentenced to eighteen months in prison **T. Barnes**, editor of a Jamaica Working class paper for republishing and editorial from the "**Daily Worker**", of the United States of America. The banning of the "**Negro Worker**" and the imprisonment of **Barnes** are incidents of deep political significance to the West Indian masses. Because it shows in this period of rising discontent of the masses, with the workers more and more demonstrating their determination to struggle (mass demonstration in Grenada, etc.), one of the weapons the imperialists are resorting to, hoping thereby to defeat, to behead the struggles of the toiling masses.

That the denial of free speech and press is a weapon mainly directed against the workers and peasants in order to prevent them from developing struggles for improved conditions of life, as well as for self-determination, is easily seen by the fact that while the workers are denied this right, it is freely granted to the Salvation Army and other religious fakers and peddlars of superstitious dope. The masses must ask themselves this question: "**Why is it these people who preach about god, fire and brimstone can have the streets for their meetings, and publish their magazines unhampered, while we who advocate the organization of trade unions, and demand the abolition of taxation without representation cannot have such**

rights and are jailed whenever we attempt to exercise same?" The answer is because the religious fakers are doing the imperialists a service. They are helping the imperialists tighten the chains of slavery around our necks, while we are demanding these chains be smashed; we are demanding more wages, shorter hours, in short better working and living conditions—but to the imperialist bandits this means less profits. The imperialists are determined to perpetuate their system of slavery—the denial of free speech and press to the masses is one of the means they are utilizing to accomplish this.

The situation concerning this most fundamental right while serious in those islands where a so-called representative form of government exists, is positively outrageous in those still under absolute Crown Colony system. In the latter mentioned islands the first copies of all newspapers must be submitted to the colonial secretary for his approval before the entire issue is permitted to be printed. Through this vicious censorship, all news unfavorable to imperialist exploitation and oppression must be deleted, failing to do so the editor is charged with edition and will face either a fine or a term of imprisonment. This means that papers under the editorship of weak-kneed, petty-bourgeois, Kow-Towing Negroes naturally become nothing more than mouth-pieces of the government, reflecting the government's policy of oppression and suppression of the vast masses. In these Crown Colony islands the use of the streets is entirely denied to the workers, nor are they permitted to use halls or other forums for voicing their demands. Free speech the workers demand—sedition the government counters. Thus a virtual reign of terror exists.

It is therefore obvious that a struggle for the right of free speech and press must become a living issue. While it is true the organization of the workers into militant trade unions remains the central task, yet the fight for this fundamental right cannot be submerged, but on the contrary must be connected with the other basic demands. The organization of the workers will go forward undoubtedly, but the tempo will be many times increased if the masses have the right to the streets, and to publish their papers and magazines as collective agitators and organizers. The imperialist bourgeoisie and their agents deny this right. The Negro reformists cannot be expected to develop a consistent struggle for it. It is true that certain sections of the radical Negro intellectuals can, and will be drawn into the struggle, but basically it is the workers and peasants who will have the unswerving courage, energy and determination to conduct and lead this struggle to victory. The masses consequently must begin to take the initiative in this direction, and must begin to organize groups around the slogan. "Free speech, press and assembly for the toiling population." In Trinidad especially, they must raise the issue sharply in the reformist organizations, and get not only the membership but also the leaders to take action in this respect. Failure of these leaders to come forward in such cause will expose them as not interested in fighting for this most basic right of the workers.

The fight for free speech and press must be kept alive and must be carried on persistently. It must go along with the fight for the organization of the workers, the struggle against high taxation, and against unemployment, hunger and misery. In this connection the **International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers** has a great task to perform, both to assist the West Indian masses to organize into revolutionary trade unions, and to carry on the struggle for the right of free speech and press.



***Labour with a White Skin cannot Emancipate itself,
where Labour with a Black Skin is Branded! — Marx.***

The Situation Kenya

By J. E.

Kenya is the classical land of British imperialism. In no part of the Empire, with the possible exception of South Africa do we find such outrageous manifestations of imperialist oppression, as in Kenya. The following facts glaringly reveal the terrible conditions under which the natives live.

"The Kenya African must be registered and have his finger prints taken, a duplicate of this certificate being kept at the Government offices. Whenever he wishes to enter a town he must obtain a special permit and he must produce this certificate when applying for employment. This must be endorsed by the master on leaving, and if for any reason, either just or unjust, the master refuses this endorsement, he cannot obtain an engagement elsewhere. These regulations make Kenya Africans strangers in their own land; they subject Africans to a control which is only accorded to criminals in other countries, and which gives rise to constant hardship and resentment. We urge that Africans be accorded the same liberty and freedom as is enjoyed by all other British subjects in Kenya."

The inclusion of such a demand in a Memorandum submitted to the Colonial Office by the Kikuyu Central Association, gives at once an idea of the status of the native workers in British East Africa. In the debate on the Colonies in the House of Commons, on July 1, Colonel Wedgwood stated: "We cannot pretend that our work (in Kenya) has been purely one of benevolence. The natives in Kenya have got to work; and we make them work. They have to work two months for a master to pay their tax."



**Members of the Kikuyu Central Association with their leaders, Harry Thuku
and Johnstone Kenyatta**

This is merely another way of stating the official policy of British imperialism in East Africa as formulated by Sir Percy Girouard, when he was Governor of Kenya: "Taxation is the only method of compelling the natives to leave their reserves for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the natives. It is on this that the supply of labour and the price of labour depends."

The climate of British East Africa is suitable for white settlement, and the main method of exploiting the country's resources is by the running of plantations, owned by the whites, and worked by native labour.

It must be remembered that all the land was taken from the natives in the first place by force and they were driven into reserves. By taking land from the native and by imposing a poll-tax on him the British farmers are assured of a supply of cheap labour.

The annexation of land, even that which has been set aside for Native Reserves, still continues.

The Kikuyu Memorandum gives concrete instances of this land robbery. Valuable land at Maragwa-Tana has been taken for the purposes of erecting an electric power station, which is to be a private dividend-paying undertaking, financed by the proprietors of the local Sisal Mills.

"Before the land at Maragwa-Tana was ear-marked as a Water-Power Reserve, there were upon it 280 dwelling huts, 335 storage barns and 195 cattle pens belonging to the Kikuyu. These were all razed to the ground to clear the site. On the stretch of river taken there was a good ford where the Kikuyu crossed to trade with the Wakamba. Now they have to go 20 or 30 miles to another ford. Since this land has been taken many Kikuyu have been arrested and fined heavily (from 250 shillings upwards) for trying to use the ford."



Kikuyu workers and their children greeting Thuku on his release from prison

Thousands of the Kikuyu tribe have thus been rendered homeless, without any sort of redress for the callous expropriation of their lands. Moreover, the land surveys under which the Kikuyu were dispossessed were made in secret and many areas were declared to be Crown land without the knowledge of the owners.

Strange that the white rulers who deem the "niggers" incapable of any civic responsibility, and deny them any right to control their own lives, should expect from them a sense of gratitude for being fined if they enter the forests which were once their own, and a humble appreciation of white protection for the privilege of paying heavy grazing fees should their cattle stray on to the lands they know should still be theirs!

The missionaries have sanctimoniously played their part in the exploitation of the Kikuyu and other tribes. They took from the natives land for mission sites, money to erect mission schools and to equip them. Then, secretly, they got licences from the Government giving them sole rights in the property that the natives had provided! Protected from the Government, which incidentally has evaded its responsibility to provide native schools, the mission authorities pro-

ceeded to exclude from the classes any native children whose parents objected to the inculcation of western religious beliefs, and even brought prosecutions against those parents who entered the premises or precincts on charges of trespassing, which meant heavy fines and imprisonment with hard labour ... for such is the power of the missions!

So close, in fact, is the harmony between the imperialist Government and the religious bodies that one wonders whether a text did not precede the infamous "Northly Land Circular". This document, issued to native chiefs, after calling upon native authorities (chiefs and headsmen) to use their influence to induce all young men to enter the labour market (virtual slavery on the plantations) stated **"that where farms and plantations are situated in the vicinity of a native area, women and children should be encouraged to go out for such labour as they can perform."**

As a result of this "Suffer-little-children-to-come-unto-me" effort, 70,000 women and 150,000 children were assigned to European farms in Kenya.*)

All rights to freedom of speech, free Press, and liberty to hold meetings are denied the Kenyan Africans. For the Kikuyu people, as for other African tribes, the advent of British colonisation has meant annexation of tribal lands, the imposition of taxes that compel them to hire their labour to the white settlers, and submission to a whole series of Ordinances that are arrived at entirely without any native expression of opinion, which are not even made known to the natives by publication in their own language, but which are enforced with the utmost severity.

The Kikuyu Memorandum to the Colonial Office quotes Criminal Case No. 83/29, heard at Fort Hall, Kenya, when a Kikuyu named Daniel Kangori, a member of the Local Native Council, was arrested with two others for being found conversing in a house after an evening meal. After they were convicted the judge added: "I order accused (1) and (2) to refrain from visiting accused (3)."

Realizing that one of the most potent methods of subjecting their race has been the appointment of puppet chiefs, under the thumb of the British authorities, the Kikuyu demand that the chiefs should be elected by the natives themselves in each district.

* * *

Valuable as the Memorandum of the Kikuyu Central Association is for its categorical statement of the natives' demands, it would be futile to imagine that the presentation of any such document at Whitehall will bring any alleviation. Paper cuts no ice. Only mass political activity of the native toilers, supported by the solidarity of white workers in the "home" country can transform the Dark Africa of imperialist exploitation into an enlightened country of freedom for workers, both black and white.

J. E.

*) See "Life and Struggles of the Negro Toilers", by G. Padmore, R. I. L. U. Publications, 9d. and 2s.

**Long Live the Freedom of the Workers and
Oppressed Peoples!**

How Garvey Betrayed The Negroes

By Cyril Briggs.

Garveyism, or Negro Zionism, rose on the crest of the wave of discontent and revolutionary ferment which swept the capitalist world as a result of the post-war crisis.

Increased national oppression of the Negroes, arising out of the post-war crisis, together with the democratic slogans thrown out by the liberal-imperialist demagogues during the World War (right of self-determination for all nations, etc.) served to bring to the surface the latent national aspirations of the Negro masses. These aspirations were considerably strengthened with the return of the Negro workers and poor farmers who had been conscripted to "save the world for democracy". These returned with a wider horizon, new perspectives of human rights and a new confidence in themselves as a result of their experiences and disillusionment in the war. Their return strengthened the morale of the Negro masses and stiffened their resistance. So-called race riots took the place of lynching bees and massacres. The Negro masses were fighting back. In addition, many of the more politically advanced of the Negro workers were looking to the example of the victorious Russian proletariat as the way out of their oppression. The conviction was growing that the proletarian revolution in Russia was the beginning of a world-wide **united** movement of down-trodden classes and oppressed peoples. Even larger numbers of the Negro masses were becoming more favorable toward the revolutionary labor movement.

DISTORTION OF NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT BY THE REFORMISTS

This growing national revolutionary sentiment was seized upon by the Negro petty bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the demagogue, Marcus Garvey, and diverted into utopian, reactionary, "Back to Africa" channels. There were various other reformist attempts to formulate the demands of the Negro masses and to create a program of action which would appeal to all elements of the dissatisfied Negro people. None of these met with even the partial and temporary success which greeted the Garvey movement.

The leadership of the Garvey Movement consisted of the poorest stratum of the Negro intellectuals—declassed elements, struggling business men and preachers, lawyers without a brief, etc.—who stood more or less close to the Negro masses and felt sharply the effects of the crisis. The movement represented a split-away from the official Negro bourgeois leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which even then was already linked up with the imperialists.

The main social base of the movement was the Negro agricultural workers and the farming masses groaning under the terrific oppression of peonage and share cropper slavery, and the backward sections of the Negro industrial workers, for the most part recent migrants from the plantations into the industrial centers of the North and South. These saw in the movement and escape from national oppression, a struggle for Negro rights throughout the world, including freedom from the oppression of the southern landlords and for ownership of the land. To the small advanced industrial Negro proletariat, who were experienced in the class struggle, the Garvey movement had little appeal.

While the movement never had the millions organizationally enrolled that its

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leaders claimed, it did have in 1921, at the time of its second congress, nearly 100,000 members on its books, as revealed in an analysis made by W. A. Domingo *) of the deliberately confused financial statement given by the leadership to the delegates at the Second Congress. Moreover, the movement exercised a tremendous ideological influence over millions of Negroes outside its ranks.

REFLECTED MILITANCY OF THE MASSES IN ITS EARLY STAGES

The movement began as a radical petty bourgeois national movement, reflecting to a great extent in its early stages the militancy of the toiling masses, and in its demands expressing their readiness for struggle against oppression. From the very beginning there were two sides inherent to the movement: a democratic side and a reactionary side. In the early stage the democratic side dominated. To get the masses into the movement, the national reformist leaders were forced to resort to demagoguery. The pressure of the militant masses in the movement further forced them to adopt progressive slogans. The program of the first congress was full of militant demands expressing the readiness for struggle.



GARVEY, Self appointed "President and Emperor" of Africa, "Duke" of the Nile and "Lord" of the Congo, etc. etc.

A Negro mass movement with such perspectives was correctly construed by the imperialists as a direct threat to imperialism, and pressure began to be put on the leadership. A threat of the imperialists, inspired and backed by the leadership of the N. A. A. C. P., to exclude Garvey from the country on his return from a tour of the West Indies brought about the complete and object capitulation of the national reformist leaders. Crawling on his knees before the imperialists, Garvey enunciated the infamous doctrine that "the Negro must be loyal to all flags under which he lives". This was a complete negation of the Negro liberation struggle. It was followed by an agreement with the Ku Klux Klan, in which the reformists catered for the support of the southern senators in an attempt to secure the "repatriation" of the Negro masses by deportation to Liberia.

The objective difficulties and subjective weakness of the movement, arising out of reformist leadership and its attempt to harmonize the demands of all the dissatisfied elements among the Negro people, inevitably led to the betrayal of the toiling masses.

SURRENDERED RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF NEGRO MAJORITIES OF U. S. AND WEST INDIES

While never actually waging a real struggle for national liberation the movement did make some militant demands in the beginning. However, these demands were soon thrown overboard as the reactionary side of the movement gained dominance. There followed a complete and shameful abandonment and betrayal of the struggles of the Negro masses of the United States and the West Indies. The

*) In an article in the Crusader Magazine, entitled "Figures Never Lie But Liars Do Figure".

right of the Negro majorities in the West Indies and in the Black Belt of the United States to determine and control their own government was as completely negated by the Garvey national reformists as by the imperialists. The Garvey movement became a tool of the imperialists. Even its struggle slogans for the liberation of the African peoples, which had always been given main stress, were abandoned and the movement began to peddle the illusion of a **peaceful return to Africa**.

At first giving expression to the disgust which the Negro masses felt for the religious illusions of liberation through "divine" intervention, etc., the Garvey movement became one of the main social carriers of these illusions among the masses, with Marcus Garvey taking on the role of High Priest after the resignation and defection of the Chaplain-General, Bishop McGuire. Feudal orders, high sounding titles and various commercial adventures were substituted for the struggle demands of the earlier stages.

How completely the reactionary side came to dominate the movement is shown in (1) its acceptance of the Ku Klux Klan viewpoint that the United States is a white man's country and the Negro masses living here are rightfully denied all democratic rights; (2) the rejection by the leaders at the 1929 convention in Jamaica, B. W. L., of a resolution condemning imperialism.

In both cases the betrayals just noted were carried to their logical conclusion, in Garvey's bid for an alliance with the Ku Klux Klan, and in an article he wrote in the **Black Man** (Jamaica organ of the movement) shortly after the 1929 convention in which he attacked the Jamaica workers for organizing into unions of the T. U. U. L. to better their conditions. In this article he attacked Communism as a menace to the imperialists and warned the Negro masses of Jamaica that they "would not dare accept and foster something tabooed by the mother country". So complete was the counterrevolutionary degeneration of the national reformists that the oppressing imperialism was openly accepted by them as their "mother country!". The imperialist oppressors were presented to the masses as "friends who have treated him (the Negro) if not fairly, with some kind of consideration!".

The decline of the movement synchronized with the subsiding of the post war crisis. As a result both of the lessening of the economic pressure on the masses and the awakening of the most militant sections of the membership to the betrayals being carried and demagoguery, the masses began to drop away from the movement. Relieved of the pressure of the militant masses the movement began to assert more and more its reactionary and anti-democratic side.

Already at the Second Congress it was evident that the national reformists were losing their grip on the masses. As a result of the widespread exposures carried on by the Negro radicals *) against the dishonest business schemes and consistent betrayals of the national Negro liberation movement by the Garvey reformists, the sympathetic masses outside of the organization were becoming more and more critical of the national reformists. Within the organization itself there was such wide-spread dissatisfaction that the top leadership was forced to make sacrificial goats of several rubber stamp lieutenants. Within a few months of the closing of the Second Congress, the first big mass defections occurred (California, Philadelphia). These revolts, however, were led by reformists and were significant only from the point of view of the growing disintegration of the movement. From 1921, the movement has undergone a continuous process of deterioration and break-up, as the masses increasingly came to realize the treacherous character of the national reformist leaders.

*) The Negro radicals referred to are Richard B. Moore, Otto Huiswoud, W. A. Domingo, Cyril Briggs and Hubert Harrison before his degeneration.

The recent decision of Garvey to sell the Jamaica properties of the organization (pocketing the proceeds) and take up his residence in Europe (far from the masses he has plundered and betrayed), denotes a high stage in the collapse of this reactionary movement, whose dangerous ideology, bears not a single democratic trait.

Historically, however, the movement has certain progressive achievements. It undoubtedly helped to crystalize the national aspirations of the Negro masses. Moreover, the Negro masses achieved a certain political ripening as a result of their experience and disillusionment with this movement.

Before concluding, it is necessary to emphasize here that the Garvey movement, while in decline and on the verge of collapse, still represents a most dan-

Unemployed Negroes in America forced to live in a cave under the Street



gerous reactionary force, exercising considerable ideological influence over large masses of Negroes. It will not do to ignore this movement which is most dangerous in its disintegration because of the desperate attempts being made by the national reformist leaders to maintain their influence over the Negro masses, either by saving the movement as it is or by luring the dissatisfied masses into other organizations under the control of the national reformists.

The situation affords considerable opportunity for the winning of the Negro masses away from the influence of the reformists which must be made one of the foremost tasks of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, specially in Africa and the West Indies.

Scottsboro Campaign in England

By J. Louis Engdahl.

It took more than three weeks to win the right for the Scottsboro Negro Mother, **Mrs. Ada Wright**, to visit Great Britain for ten days, the time limit set by the British foreign office in London.

In the United States the workers demanded of the state department at Washington that it keep its "Hands Off!" the Scottsboro Negro Mother's tour. It was clear that the dollar ambassador to London, the American multi-millionaire, Andrew Mellon, formerly Secretary of the Treasury in the Hoover cabinet, while refusing to listen to the protests of the British workers against the burning alive of the Scottsboro boys, had exerted the utmost pressure upon the MacDonald government to bar Mrs. Ada Wright from Britain's shores. But the decision given in the closing days of May, by the British consul at Zurich, Switzerland, that the Scottsboro Mother be not admitted, was changed in the latter days of June by the British Foreign Office's own decision rendered through the British consul in Paris granting the ten-day stay, of which the Scottsboro Negro Mother took immediate advantage.

It was clear that the MacDonald government had capitulated to this extent before the growing mass basis in Europe of the Scottsboro campaign, just as the



Comrade Patterson, of the League for Negro Rights demanding the freedom of the 9 Scottsboro Boys at a mass meeting in New York

Belgian government that had first expelled Mrs. Ada Wright completely turned about and saw its former Socialist premier, Emile Vandervelde, chairman of the Second Socialist International, speak from the same platform with Mrs. Wright, and withdrew its police completely from the scene of the Brussels' Scottsboro demonstration.

It is significant that these international developments are taking place around the first anniversary, July 10th, of the date first set (Juli 10, 1931) for the burning alive of the Scottsboro Negro children in the electric chair in its Kilby Prison, Montgomery, Alabama.

When the Southern Judge, Hawkins, on April 8, 1931, sentenced the Negro boys to die in the electric chair on Friday, July 10, 1931, it is clear that he fully believed the sentence would be carried out. So did the mob of 10,000 around the courthouse led by so-called "Southern gentlemen". So did the Southern press, while the northern press gave little attention. Never before had world protest been organized against lynching—either mob lynching or judicial lynching—carried through by the so-called "white supremacy" against the oppressed Negro millions "to keep them in their place". Not even the workers in the United States had been mobilized sufficiently against this class and national oppression.

Not only the landlord and industrial reaction in the South, but the ruling class generally throughout the United States was startled by the rapidity and successful development of the world-wide protest against its planned murders. In the South especially it had never been considered a "crime" for an individual white, or a mob of whites, to kill Negroes. Leaders or members of lynching parties—mobs—were never arrested. Instead they were the honoured members of the community, elected to public office and sent to congress in Washington.

Instead of "July 10, 1931", therefore, we now have "October 10, 1932", the date when the United States Supreme Court, the highest in the land, will review the Scottsboro case. It is not in the power of this high court to free the Scottsboro boys. That power still rests with Governor Miller, of Alabama. The Washington high court has the power to overrule the decisions of the lower courts and declare that the Negro boys must have a new trial. Such a decision, however, wrung from the Washington high court, the strongest pillar of capitalist class justice in the United States, will have its tremendous historic significance and will go far forward determining the further developments in this attempted legal massacre in Alabama.

The steadily growing mass protest, in France, in Belgium, in Holland and now in Great Britain, since the United States Supreme Court action in deciding to review the case, shows that the toiling masses have no illusions as to the "fairness" or "impartiality" of capitalist class justice, but realize that mass pressure alone can bring concessions from or victory over the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, and that section of the American ruling class that lords over the oppressed Negro masses in Alabama.

This is the significance of the "crashing of the gates" of British-MacDonald imperialism by the Scottsboro Negro Mother, the mass welcome that she received from the workers, Negroes, Hindus and of other races with the white workers, the workers of all races attending the meetings and demonstrations, being listed among the speakers.

The Scottsboro Negro Mother visited the House of Parliament and demanded action from the Labour Party members, some of whom listened to her. **George Lansbury**, one of the "left" weathercocks of the Labour Party, asked for a statement of the Scottsboro case, so that he can place it before the Labour Party Parliamentary Executive. The bourgeois League of Coloured Peoples requested

Mrs. Wright as a speaker before it. This, however, will not be allowed to evaporate into "respectful protests" or "carefully worded demands" upon the lynch-law ambassador of the Wall Street plutocracy—Mellon. But militant action will press for ever-wider mass movements of struggle against the intended Scottsboro massacre of the Negro boys—whole centuries of barbarous oppression crystallized into one bloody infamy in the days when the world's richest imperialism is in the grip of its worst economic crisis.

A LETTER FROM LONDON

Dear Comrade Editor:—

Please publish the following account of a joint meeting of white and coloured workers in London, so that your readers will know what we are doing to save the Scottsboro boys. You already know of the great meetings we held when Mrs. Wright was here.

On July 14th, 1932, at Trinity Hall Poplar East End of London a Meeting of the **International Labour Defence** and the **Negro Welfare Association** was held on behalf of the Scottsboro boys. The meeting assumed the proportions of an International Assembly owing to the fact that it was composed of Germans, Negroes from the U.S.A., Trinidad, Indians, Chinese and workers from several other colonies. The composition of the platform was: Several women, white and coloured, colonials, also one German and several Englishmen.

The speeches commenced with an opening address by the Rev. Wm Dick, the incumbent of Trinity Hall who lent the hall for the purpose of the said meeting. He said that he agreed with the Resolution of Protest against the murder of these innocent lads and thereupon called upon the first speaker, a native of Trinidad, Chris Jones, to give his views on the subject. This comrade explained very well how this particular case only went to show how the capitalist class was spreading race hatred between white and black workers in order to disrupt the comradely solidarity between the working masses. He closed by stating that he hoped to see the united front of all workers, irrespective of race, colour or creed against the capitalist class,—in their common class struggle.

The next speaker was a member of the I.L.D., quite a young comrade, but he put the position very plain, showing the need for immediate action on the part of the masses against the persecution of the Negro boys. He also stated that the will of the international working class will eventually win out in this case.

After him, a communist, comrade Spillman spoke as a seconder of the resolution. The next speaker, a German comrade, in supporting the resolution stated that he had never had the opportunity of speaking on the same platform together with Negro comrades and that the workers of all countries and all races must close ranks to fight against the growing wave of terror of the capitalist class in the whole world.

The resolution was then put before the meeting which was passed unanimously with much acclamation. The meeting closed with a few sketches by the "Red Radio Troupe" who put the position of the workers quite clearly. All credit is due for the fine success of this meeting, to comrade **Jim Headley**, the organizer of the meeting, and to comrade **A. Ward**, the chairman of the **Negro Welfare Association**. It is indeed pleasing to think that colour is no bar for working class meetings and that the British workers realize that what affects our coloured comrades will also affect them unless we combine our forces to fight the common enemy: Capitalism.

Fraternally Yours

A. Crowther.

Voices From The Colonies

Misery In The West Indies

Grenada, 16. 6. 32.

To the Editor of the "Negro Worker"

Our illustrious journal of May 15th, 1932 reached my hands but yesterday; and I must confess the truth, that after reading it I could have no rest till I send you these lines.

Believe me that we long needed such an Association that will shake off the shackles of imperialist oppression. If the Garvey movement had this kind of true spirit, much good could have been done, but, as you said, we can't beg our way through, we must fight our way until we get to our goal.

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There is no line of the trades or the professions that we are not now competent in, many of us are skilled farmers, agriculturalists, scientists in many of the arts and crafts of present day calling, but the time has come when our usefulness is no more required by our overlords, because inventive machineries have come to stay and outclass us on a whole. That is, where 5,000 or more Negroes were employed fifteen years ago, only about one hundred are required to do the same amount of work now, by simply turning a screw or a button. Consequently millions of us Negroes in the West Indies, Panama, Cuba, Santo Domingo and the United States of America are thrown out of work to live on the bones of a half-starved body.

The countries which had offered us work and employment before are now face to face with economic depression, and have refused us to even land on their borders without a big financial deposit. Right now there are over 40,000 Negroes, held up and out of work in a cold world by the Government of Panama, who can no longer find space for them to live and work as heretofore. The Jamaica Government was asked some time ago to take over this lot of Negroes, but refused on the grounds, that these Negroes are not all Jamaicans. Only a few days ago ship loads of Negroes were despatched from the Republic of Cuba to Jamaica, destitute and half starved, and there are over twenty thousand more to be sent away, probably to no man's land.

In Santo Domingo there are over twenty sugar cane estates that used to employ from eight to ten thousands Negroes each, today those same estates can only employ one hundred or a little over, and now there are many thousand Negroes, capable of doing any kind of work, sitting and living on dire want and starvation in that republic.

In the West Indies, including British, French and Dutch, there are over 2½ million Negroes, who on account of taxation, dare not kill without a licence from the Government a duck, turkey, or any other fourfooted animals, for they would be dragged to court, and fined or confined; within eight miles of some of the towns of some of these West Indies, no Negroe peddler dare sell ripe fruits, such as pears, mangoes, bananas, canes or any other vegetables or things without obtaining first a market licence; if caught without, they are fined or confined according to the offence. In some of the other towns, no labourer dare apply for any kind of work to carry a suit-case for a traveller or any other baggage without a cash licence from the police department etc. Selling without a licence cow's milk, charcoal, wood, ginger beer, candies etc. etc. is a grave offense, punished

with a big fine or long term imprisonment. In many of these West Indian Islands afore mentioned, these and other measures of oppression and wrongs cry aloud for a change. We know that by birth we should have a right to live on this earth.

There is no pen nor paper that can tell the hardships and oppression of us Negroes in the West Indies. But believing in the nature of your organization,—in fact I may now say, our organization,—I must look for that long cherished hope that some time, very soon, we shall through this organization throw off our shackles of British imperialism, and shall feel like those good Russians, who are living on God's green fields—with nothing to make them afraid.

Please let me hear how best I can serve you, how I can get myself lined up with the grand movement. I am ready to shed the last drop of blood for the freedom of our race, and for those peoples who are willing to teach us their experiences to help fight the battle to a victorious end.



West Indian Peasant Women

Send and let me know how we can obtain freedom of speech and the right to organize. Not one of us out here dare form any kind of association and talk of freedom for the peoples of our race. I was expelled from Barbados as early as January of this year, had to turn away from Trinidad to British Guiana, to be imprisoned for three months because I organized an Association for the embetterment of the Negroes' conditions and now in this little hole of Grenada I am watched like a hen that is laying. I can't find any good place to be left alone by British imperialism.

Believe me full of propaganda and full of fight.

Yours,—suffering under the British yoke,

S. P. R.

A GARVEYITE OFFENDED

Georgetown, Demerara, 4. 6. 32.

Dear Comrade Editor:—

After reading one of your leaflets entitled, "**What is the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers?**" I saw on the outside cover the words "Long live the freedom of Africa!" But in the inside I read these lines: "For years we have given our money to so-called big Negro leaders like the reformist Marcus Garvey."

Now I, as an African born in British Guiana cannot understand how you can talk that way of the Hon. gentleman Marcus Garvey. For I say with no apology that when he came forward and told us of a free Africa, and nationalism for the Africans at home and abroad,—that caused the other races to respect us as a people. Through the vision of Marcus Garvey also sprung up the U.N.I.A.,—yet still you, a man from the land of burnt men are talking bad about the man that is causing many a revolts the world over today. We want, and must have nationalism, before we as a race and people can get an international hearing in the line of politics, commerce, finance, employment, education, forced labour, etc. Without nationalism we are like a ship without a rudder.

Therefore, why you as a leader of the race too should count a man like Garvey among the crooks of the world? I say we of British Guiana do not like it and if you attack Garvey your work will not get as much hearing as it ought to get. I say stop criticizing Garvey and strike your blows on one side and leave Garvey on the other. For we are having a large tree to fell, and if you stop giving encouragement it would not fall at the time when we Africans are looking forward for it to fall.

I would like to be an agent for your "**Negro Worker**" and other good books which are showing the wrongs done to our people in Africa and all the world over. I like the Committee's work but for God Almighty's sake leave the African's leader, the Hon. Marcus Garvey alone, the first man who put Africa before us.

I am a member of the African race.

Henry H. Kendal.

Dear Comrade Kendal:—

Thanks very much for your letter. Unfortunately space prevents us from publishing it in detail. However we are printing those parts which express your resentment of our criticism of Marcus Garvey. We are very sorry to offend you but like you we make no apologies for our uncompromising exposure of the reformist politician of Garvey, especially his capitalist utopian scheme of "Back to Africa".

We shall deal with this matter in greater detail in future issues of our magazine. In the meanwhile we would like to draw your attention to the article of comrade **Briggs**, published elsewhere in this issue.

We are against the reformist ideas of Garvey,—for, instead of giving some practical help to the Negro masses in their day-to-day economic struggles, especially at this time of mass unemployment and starvation—he has completely deserted the masses. Garvey has not done one single thing to help the workers in the fight for social insurance and other forms of immediate relief. Therefore it becomes more and more the duty of all class conscious revolutionary Negro workers to expose the demagoguery behind which he has masqueraded for all of these years as the "great" leader.

We hope that you will write us again and continue to frankly discuss your problems with us. In the meanwhile, we would like you to give your assistance and support to the British Guiana Labour Union which is carrying on a splendid struggle in organizing the workers, especially the unemployed, for state relief, non-payment of rent and the other immediate demands of the working class. This is a practical way of helping in the struggles of the working class against British imperialism.

Don't wait until you go to Africa to begin the fight against your exploiters, for you might never get over there. You must start the fight right now. And you can only do this by joining up with the other workers in the union. You must not forget that the same British capitalists who are exploiting the masses in Africa

are also exploiting you in British Guiana. And this is exactly what Marcus Garvey is not interested in, despite of all his big talk about, "Africa for the Africans, at home and abroad". He lives in ease and comfort, out of the millions of dollars which you and other mislead workers have given to him. Garvey is so much at peace with the British imperialists that he does not even worry himself about trying to form a union in order to help the thousands of black men and women employed on the docks and banana plantations to get higher wages and shorter hours, much less to worry about the millions of Negroes in Africa,—thousands of miles away from Kingston. You must not permit yourself to be misled by Garvey's "radical" talk. That is exactly what he depends upon to fool the Negro masses. You must judge men not only by what they say but by their deeds and if we judge Marcus by this standard, every honest Negro can see that he is a fraud.

Ed.

A CONTRAST OF CLASSES:



Homes of Negro workers in Jamaica.



The home of a Negro capitalist in Kingston, Jamaica.

Where Terror Reigns / By J. KOMFEDER.

During recent months the capitalist press in England and America has been carrying on a campaign of slander against Liberia. The purpose of this campaign is to "justify" the policy of annexation of this country which has been openly advocated even in the British Parliament. In order to further prepare the way for taking over Liberia and placing it under a mandate of one of the imperialist powers,—Great Britain or America—the League of Nations has set up a commission to put through this dirty deal.

Venezuela is one of the countries represented on the commission to pass judgement on Liberia, and because of this, we are publishing the following account of the terror in that South American hell hole so that the workers, peasants and all anti-imperialist fighters of Liberia will recognise the character of their new foreign slave masters, who are equally as notorious as the black capitalist oppressors in Liberia and the white imperialist exploiters in other parts of Africa.

The writer of the article was himself imprisoned for three months in La Rotunda dungeon in Venezuela.

Ed.

Facing the Land of Horrors.

Sailing from Curacao, a Dutch Island, a day's ride from the Venezuelan Coast, one begins to hear lurid stories about "the regime". One of the passengers on board from Curacao told me about a famous case where a Frenchman with his beautiful wife landed in Marracairo, one of the generals of Juan Vincento Gomez (owner of two-thirds of the country and political lord and master of it all) took a liking to the Frenchman's wife, arrested the Frenchman and nothing more has been ever heard of him. His wife still is in the general's harem.

Three years ago a party of Venezuelans took over the Dutch governor's palace in Curacao, possessed themselves of all arms and forced the captain of an American steamer to carry them over to Venezuela, in a venture to overthrow the Gomez regime. It is with stories like these, based on facts, but woven into fiction that one gets introduced to Venezuela as one approaches its coasts.

Finally we are in front of Puerto Cabello. We see men in convict clothes on shore, guarded by soldiers who hang all around in vagabond fashion. Some of the "convicts" clamber about the walls of an ancient Spanish shore fortress. While up on a hill, there is an old Spanish castle, overlooking the sea. God, what a heat—what's up there, I ask a passenger. Why man, don't you know what that is? This is the infamous "El Castillo" where Gomez sends his political and personal enemies; there are about 1,200 of them up there right now. Anyone sent to this place may as well consider himself halfway in the next world."

I took a dislike to my informer, he gave me the shivers with all these stories. Anyway, I went on shore, behind me some guys followed in an "innocent" way—I kept within sight of the boat, however, and got back safely.

In the next port called "La Guira" I was to get off definitely. I wrote some letters to my friends, that if they don't hear of me weekly to search for me through the U. S. Consul. I had no wife—but who knows, a fellow like me, who never lived in a place like this may say something and who knows what may happen next—a little bit of precaution might help.

Well, we landed in "La Guira". They took my passport and said I should look for it at the police headquarters. Coming there, an old sly fox looked me over. I was asked for \$20 for deposit for entry and \$2 for consular fee of entry, although I paid \$5 for the Venezuelan visa in Panama. Well, a little bit of graft, that's nothing after all the gruesome stories I heard. Then \$2 more to grease the baggage examiner for speedy service, and I was through with formalities. Then—a fellow steps up to me and says I owe him a dollar. Like hell, I says, so he takes me to a shriveled up old cop to take me to the police station. Fine business, I thought—I gave him the dollar.

Caracas, the Capital of Captain Blood.

With a taxicab, traveling over one of the most magnificent roads I ever saw, I speeded to the capital. Fine road, I says to the chauffeur. All made by prisoners, he says. Well, there I am in a pension in Caracas. Nice construction for a Latin American town. Passing by the police headquarters, I see a squad of men seated there with rifles and fixed bayonets, others with unsheathed swords—nothing to do but be in readiness.

I see newspapers for sale, I buy them, 1, 2, 2, 4 different ones, but not a word in them about other countries, some write-ups about biology and ancient

history but nothing about doings inside the country. There is nothing more ominously impressive to a foreigner than just these simple facts, which is the outward sign of the complete muzzling of the press.

After bumming around in all the movies in town, punk, censored stuff—and attending to some business. I see in one of the papers, something about a session of Venezuelan Senate and Congress, so, after all, there seems to be a Parliament. I read the sessions were opened—proposed law so and so read unanimously approved, so and so made a speech, that's all that appears—I am no wiser than before.

Thus, I pass two weeks, day by day, business is rotten, ominous silence of everyone I try to talk to, but no one talks about politics or bad business. Around my hotel suspicious individuals hang around, it seems to be an "innocent" habit.

I contract for my ticket to go back to New York, there is nothing to do and no one will talk to me. Everybody seems to distrust everyone else, unless it is his bosom friend and I can't make them open up. Then one day, just by luck I met a New Yorker, a friend of mine, a Venezuelan (now in jail) by the name of Mariano Fortoul. He introduced me to his friends, intellectuals, some of them Communists. We have some friendly parties. Then one night about 11:30 p.m., the police led by the prefect himself swoops down on us and next thing we are in "La Rotunda", one of the most notorious prisons in the world.

"La Rotunda".

A whole company of loyal mercenaries. The "Ondinos" guards the prison, fixed bayonets all the time. We are told to strip naked. Every seam and nook and corner of pockets in our clothing is examined for a hidden bit of a pencil, also our ears and rectum, to prevent us from communicating. Watches, pens, pencils and belts, or anything metallic is taken away to prevent us from having or making even the tiniest weapon, we are not to know the time of the day. Through a manhole in the door, guarded by two soldiers, we are let into the interior of the prison. There in a large cell without chairs or bed in it, just plain naked floor, no blankets or anything, I am locked up. No one except the guard inside (they make assassins as guards over the politicals) is allowed to talk to me.

The pot bellied "general" director of the prison with a skull size of a small cocoanut, looks me over in the morning, whip in hand. Later on I found out that the "general" is a former bandit chieftain who made peace with Gomez. From the pile of junk in the court yard my guard picks a rusty can, this to serve me food and water with. There is no toilet in the cell, so they put a big open oil can, rusty on the edges. Thousands of insects crawl about in the cell. Order is given not to give me water and only half prison ration (even the full ration is slow starvation). I feel I am getting introduced to Venezuela.

Cling, clang, ting, tang, 6 o'clock in the morning. Sound of hundreds of dull cow-bells. But it's not cows, it's human beings with yard long steel bars, thickness of a man's arm, fastened to their legs. The so-called "grillos" weigh from 50 to 200 pounds on their feet, and as they move the hooks that fasten the bar to both legs they make this metallic sound.

Soon I see one crossing the yard, in order to walk they shift their immobilized body like a barrel with a hip movement, lifting the irons up with a string. The irons remain on them day and night. Most of them wear only panties. Almost all have unshaven faces, beards of many months. The one that's moving across the yard is being put into a dark cell an half rations. After two months he looked like a ghost, the skin clinging tightly to his bones.

A group of prisoners, among them another American by the name of Alfredo Mazuerria (Venezuelan by birth) committed the "horrible" crime of trying to

communicate with the outside. Irons three times the weight are snapped on them. They protest. Their hands are tied behind their backs and with the irons on they are thus totally immobile. The whip is used, some of them are strung up on the wall with their feet tied. One of the guards says passing by my cell "this way they will die" the other says "it don't matter".

One of the prisoners, a rich farmer who did not want to give his land to Gomez at a "voluntary" price was kept as a "gentleman prisoner" without chains. Too old to stand it he got insane, so they snapped the irons on him, bound his hands backward, and gave him the whip—Gomez's medicine for all, be they sane or insane.

Why the Terror?

The effects have their causes, and the causes are that about one of the three million of the total Venezuelan population live in a state of semi-slavery. They are not bought or sold but are bound to their master, can't leave the plantation without permission and can be physically mistreated or even killed by their master without consequences. They receive no wages, just work for grub. About 800,000 of the agrarian population who live nearer the cities get paid in wages, but are obliged to buy from the commissary stores of the owners at double prices and most of them never get out of the debts and are liable to arrest if they leave without paying it.

Gomez started off as a middle sized landlord. He represented the land owning class. He recruited his followers from the guerilla bands roaming about



Comrade C. JONES, of the London Negro Welfare Association, addressing British workers in Trafalgar Square, London on the Scottsboro Case

the country in his days, and the vagabonds of the countryside and playing one group of owners against the other, gradually expropriated most of them so that today he has two-thirds of all cultivated lands in his own hands.

The young bourgeoisie in the cities opposed him and tried to make the French revolution against Gomez's feudal rule, but lost. Gomez is now "partner" in almost all the important industrial undertakings of the bourgeoisie. Gomez gave himself various commercial monopolies like meat, butter, milk, river and coastwise traffic, etc. He gets two cents per barrel of all oil extracted in Venezuela from the foreign capitalists that run the oil fields, and Venezuela is the third largest oil producer in the world. Thus utilizing his political power to grab

off everything, he became from a large size peasant one of the richest men in the world. In the process of doing it he had to suppress and eliminate everybody in his way. About 30,000 political prisoners, thousands of them youths of the "best" families, passed through the prison. Hundreds of them were tortured to death for attempting to make the bourgeois revolution. Only lately have we seen the working masses themselves organizing, and Communists among the prisoners.

A reign of this kind can't tolerate any opposition, the so-called Congress and Senate, the governors, and all from top to bottom are appointed by Gomez. His army is recruited in approved feudal fashion. They are caught like dogs in the villages and in the army there is the regime of the whip. The soldiers are used as laborers on Gomez's farms and the poor devils picked up under any pretense and made prisoners together with the politicals construct the roads and public buildings.

There is no judicial procedure, to be arrested means to be on the road gangs, or in the "grillos", if not worse in the case of politicals. There are no charges, no trials, no sentences. A prisoner never knows for how long he stays in, nor what is next.

No organization is permitted, be it parties, labor unions, societies; even chambers of commerce are not in favor. And the Catholic Church has to accept as bishops those that Gomez wants. Anyone, be it a factory owner, priest or working man that protests is picked up in the dark of the moon and it is considered a favor if his relatives are informed or permitted to send in food or clothing to him. Any number that dares to assemble in public without Gomez's permission is shot at without warning.

And this, my dear friends, is a government looked upon as friendly by the United States, and other so-called civilized Governments and is recognized.

What matters is that a bandit appropriates everything to himself and bludgeons the people, this in the eyes of the capitalists does not violate property principles, as long as one robber has it all and shares it with the other capitalist thieves, but if, as in the Soviet Union, the people own it, collectively, why that's impermissible and such a government can't be recognized.



Down with Imperialist Terror!
Freedom for all Class War Prisoners!

The Labour Movement

The World Situation and the Negro

By Cyril Briggs (New York).

This is the second of a series of articles analyzing the effects of the present world crisis on the Negro masses in America, Africa and the West Indies, by **Cyril Briggs**, the well known Negro revolutionary journalist, and contributing editor to the "NEGRO WORKER".

These articles do not only review the present situation in which the Negro masses find themselves in but, most important of all, they show the Negro toilers of America and the colonies the only way in which they can win national freedom and social emancipation. Study these articles, discuss them with your friends, and write us your opinions. — Ed.

The Crisis of Capitalism

The present world economic and financial crisis of capitalism bears only a superficial resemblance to former crises of capitalism. The capitalist world is today shaken as never before. It is filled with the gloomiest outlook. Leading capitalists openly express alarm as to the future of the system which thrives on the robbery and oppression of the working-class and colonial masses. The leading British economist, Sir George Paish, some weeks ago predicted an early general smash-up of the capitalist system.

The present crisis occurs against the background of the general crisis of capitalism, the breakdown of the capitalist system, the rise of Communism, the existence of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary upsurge of the working class and the colonial masses throughout the capitalist world.

During the past few months, the economic and financial crisis has increased with great rapidity in virulence and extent. Industrial output in the capitalist countries has sunk to the lowest level so far recorded during the crisis. Capitalist industry has reached the saturation point. An example is the automobile industry, to which the capitalists vainly look to lead them out of the crisis. The automobile plants are closed down, or working only on part time with greatly reduced forces. The building industry is also saturated. Hoover's talk of destroying the slums in which millions of workers, and particularly the Negro workers, are forced to live, is just so much bunk. Only in the Soviet Union, where the workers and peasants rule, is the slum heritage of the Czars being destroyed and decent homes erected for the toiling masses.

Capitalist America.

In the United States, the strongest sector of capitalism, there have been several stock exchange collapses. Two thousand, three hundred forty-two banks had failed in the United States alone up to October 30, 1931, according to the admission of J. W. Pole, Controller of the Currency. Millions of workers have been robbed of their meager savings in these bank crashes. Security quotations have dropped sharply.

Catastrophic drops continue in the prices of agricultural products. Farmers have had to sell their wheat as low as 25 cents a bushel. Cotton prices have dropped as low as 6 cents a pound, further lowering the starvation standards of the Negro masses in the South. This is the lowest price for cotton in many decades.



Starving white and black ex-soldiers on the steps of the American parliament buildings demand their war bonus and relief

The capitalists have no way out of the crisis except at the increased ruination of the farmers and starvation and misery for the workers, and the 12,000,000 unemployed and their families in the United States. Fantastic proposals such as ploughing under every third row of cotton have been made by the United States Farm Board. Banks and insurance companies have foreclosed on farm mortgages, throwing many farm families out of their homes. Land prices have dropped 50 percent. No purchasers are to be found for the foreclosed farm properties.

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In the meantime, capitalism presents the shocking contrast of a huge surplus of goods, of full warehouses and bursting granaries, and on the other hand thousands of destitute unemployed workers dying of starvation or committing suicide, millions existing at a starvation level, and wage-cuts, speed-up and lengthening hours of labor further undermining the purchasing power of the toiling masses.

The capitalists are desperately trying to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the masses. A conscious policy of inflation of the currency is proceeding in every capitalist country, including the United States. But inflation serves only to sharpen the crisis by further shaping the credit structure without supplying a sound basis for setting the wheels of industry in motion. Inflation, however, means another attack against the real wages of the working class, raising the price level and thus increasing the cost of living at the same time that wages are being slashed right and left and increasing numbers thrown on the streets to starve.

The world economic crisis of capitalism is now in its third year. The capitalists are no longer able to conceal from the toiling masses the fact of the decay of the capitalist system. In a single issue, Dec. 21st, the **"New York Times"** was forced to present the following gloomy, but incomplete, picture of the catastrophic operation of the crisis:

"Holiday Lull Adds to Steel's Decline." "4% Drop Due This Week. Magazine Finds Holiday Decline in Steel Output Rapid." "Steel Production at 30 percent." "34 Year Low in Hogs as Live Stock Dips." "Decline in Building Shown Last Month." "London Market Depressed." "Feeling at Paris More Unfavourable." "French Export Trade Continues to Decline." "A Week of Decline in Stocks in Berlin." "Germany's Retail Trade Off 12-1/8 Percent." "London Stock Market Prices Lower." "Last Week's Scare Over Dutch Position."

No Crisis in the Soviet Union.

Here we see the capitalists themselves forced to admit the general world decay of capitalism, of increasing unemployment and mass misery throughout the capitalist world.

And what are the conditions in the Soviet Union, where the workers and peasants have freed themselves from the plight of capitalist exploitation? Again, let the capitalist press tell the story. The following is taken from the New York Times of December 25, 1931. The figures on unemployment are intentionally deceiving, but even this deliberate underestimation of the unemployed army and their dependants cannot destroy the sharp contrast between dying capitalism and the new society rising in the Soviet Union:

'WORLD'S NEEDY ARE ESTIMATED AT 100,000,000; UNITED STATES HAS MOST IDLE. RUSSIA NONE.'

"GENEVA, Dec. 24 — The world's needy are estimated this Christmas to total 100,000,000 men, women and children. The United States stands first in the list with the number of workers now out of employment at 12,000,000. Soviet Russia stands last with none."

As pointed out in previous article, the economic crisis has been further aggravated by a financial or credit crisis. This development of the crisis has already occurred in every capitalist country in the world, including the United States.

(To be continued.)

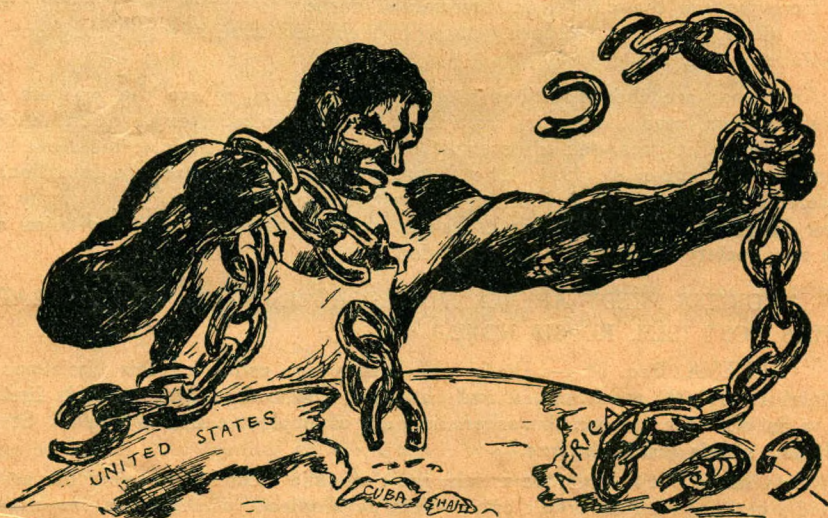
Romain Rolland Denounces Imperialism

The following appeal for defence of the Soviet Union, for unity of the working masses has been issued by Romain Rolland, the great French writer and humanitarian, in connection with the anti-war congress called by an International Committee of intellectuals, to take place in Europe on the 28th August:

In the name of besieged China—in the name of the menaced Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—in the name of the peoples of the earth—in the name of the great hopes of humanity which the awakening of the oppressed races of Asia and the heroic reconstruction of proletarian Russia arouse and sustain in us: I cry HELP! Down with the assassins! And I denounce to all the world, the ignoble lies of the governments of Europe and America, especially that of France, whose handful of adventurers in the service of the war mongers stretch out their rapacious hand over the earth and use Japanese imperialism as the executioner's axe to sever the head of the revolution. I denounce the treason of that intellectual class which formerly was the lookout at the mast of the ship to guide it through storms—which today basely purchases its peace and comfort by its silence or its servile flattery which serves the interests of the moneyed and privileged classes. And I denounce the farce of Geneva and the folly of the League of Nations.

I appeal to the sleeping conscience of the best forces of Europe, America and Africa. I appeal to the consciousness of colossal power as yet unrealized in all the peoples of the world, to cut the serpent's knot of the plutocratic and military Fascisms which tomorrow will encircle the globe, to crush the new-born conspiracy and to seal the union of the working masses of all free peoples.

Romain Rolland.



What is the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers?

The Negro Workers Committee was formed in July 1930 at an international conference of Negro toilers held in Hamburg, Germany. The Committee is not a race, but a **class organization**, organizing and leading the fight in the interests of Negro workers in Africa, the West Indies and other colonies.

The aims of the Committee are as follows:

1. Abolition of Forced Labour, Peonage and Slavery.
2. Equal Pay for Equal Work — Irrespective of Race, Colour or Sex.
3. Eight Hour Day.
4. Government Relief for Unemployed, — free rent, no taxes.
5. Freedom to organize trade unions, unemployed councils and peasant committees, — right to strike.
6. Against racial barriers in trade unions and colour bar in industry.
7. Against capitalist terror — lynching, police and soldier terrorism, arrest and deportation of foreign workers.
8. Against confiscation of peasant and communal lands, against taxation of the Negro workers and peasants.
9. To promote and develop the spirit of international solidarity between the workers of all colours and nationalities.
10. To agitate and organize the Negro workers against the imperialist war in China and the intervention in Soviet Russia, in which the white capitalist exploiters intend to use black workers as cannon-fodder as they did in the last war.
11. To defend the independence of Liberia, Haiti and other Negro States and to fight for the full independence of the Negro toilers in Africa and the West Indies, and their right of self-determination in the Black Belt of U. S. A.
12. The Committee also fights against white chauvinism, (race prejudice) social-reformism and the reformist programmes of the Negro capitalist misleaders, and the missionaries, preachers and other agents of imperialism.

These misleaders, instead of organizing the Negro masses to fight for their freedom are the very ones who help the capitalists by preaching obedience, and loyalty to imperialist rule:

Negro Workers, Organize The Fight Against Imperialism!
Support The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement!
Fight For The Freedom Of The Working Class!

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